CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 42 of 1908.

REPORT

ON

NATIVE PAPERS IN BENGAL

FOR THE

Week ending the 17th October 1908.

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I.—Foreign Politics.

Namai Muqaddas Hablul Matin, Oct. 5th, 1906.

The International loan as the cause of calling a fresh Parliament in Persia by the Shah.

Referring to a telegram from Tabriz received in London relating to a renewed attack on the city from all sides and the consequent spread of famine and scarcity, the *Namai Muqaddas Hablul Matin* [Calcutta] of the 5th October has the following:—

From the beginning of the present distress in Persia we find that the movements of the Shah have all been in accordance with the plan laid down by the Russians, who have secretly helped him in manifold ways. The policy adopted in Tabriz by the Russian Consul and his open and secret help to the Royalists, as also the grant of cartridges to the Royal army clearly betray the intentions of the Russians towards Persia.

The Russians have directed their whole attention to the Shah's overpowering the Constitutionalists for fear that if they are victorious or even if a section of them is left unsubdued by the Shah, he will not be able to interfere with the election rules, without the previous acquiescence of the nation to it. The Shah's promise of calling the Parliament is simply with a view to obtain its sanction to the (International) loan contracted for with the English and the Russians, as also to all his engagements made with themincluding the control of the Imperial revenue.

The authority of the nation being the only thing remaining it can be obtained by the Shah securing control over the election of the representatives so that the Royalists might gain a majority in the Parliament. It will then be possible for the Shah to control the men of Azarbaijan. If the election on the other hand, be according to the previous rules, the question of the loan which practically amounts to a sale of the country will never receive the sanction of the Parliament. It is an open secret that the Shah's object in convening a Parliament with a Royalist majority is to obtain its sanction to the International loan, and no sooner this is obtained by means of heavy bribes to the members, their aid will be sought to put down the rival party and thereby destroy the (very) name of Constitution in Persia. Such being his object he would never have taken the trouble to convene that assembly, if he had any other means of raising the money or bringing the Constitutionalists under his control. Strange! if we, the Persians, are yet in hopes of getting any help from the foreigners. The Persians will have to look up to Turkey and Germany for help as a last resource. The political aspect of Persia will then undergo a change and the English will have to rub the palms of their hands in grief.

II.—Home Administration.

(*a*)—*Police.*

Daily Hitavadi, Oct. 11th, 1906.

Crime near Calcutta.

2. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 11th October speaks of the growing frequency of dacoities in the neighbourhood of Calcutta and ascribes it to the pre-occupation of the police with bomb cases and the like and to the absence of fire-arms and other means of self-defence. It is pointed out that this latter want is more aggravated than ever before owing to the increased vigilance of the police.

(*d*)—*Education.*

Daily Hitavadi, Oct. 11th, 1906.

School discipline in Bombay.

3. In commenting on the recent Resolution of the Government of Bombay on the enforcement of school discipline, the *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 11th October writes:—

While prepared to give His Excellency credit for good motives we do not think all his suggestions and proposed rules will commend themselves to the guardians of the boys. The rules for the enforcement of cleanliness and tidiness among schoolboys merit all praise, but the wisdom of the prohibition of the attendance of students at public meetings is questionable and unintelligible. If this prohibition is meant for the welfare of the boys, why does

not Sir George try and get a similar prohibition enforced in England? In England participation in public meetings is held to be an indispensable part of education. And in India too, in the olden days, on occasion of *sradh* and other gatherings, *pandits* attended accompanied by their pupils to take part in the debates which arose amongst themselves.

Sir George laments that the present day *gurus* do not command the reverence of their pupils as their predecessors did. But then His Excellency forgets that in the past, *gurus* were not fettered by rigid official rules. If Sir George would see present day *gurus* attract the same reverence from their pupils that their predecessors did, let him give them the same full and unimpaired liberty. Let His Excellency remember the story of the Harrow Head Master who would not uncover his head before the Prince of Wales (now His Majesty the King) in the presence of his pupils, lest thereby his pupils should be led to know that there was anybody superior to him.

(*g*)—*Railways and Communications, including Canals and Irrigation.*

DAILY HITAVADI, Oct. 9th, 1908.

Lady passengers on Indian Railways and their protection.

4. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 9th October asks that the concession recently allowed by the North-Western Railway authorities to 1st and 2nd class lady passengers to have a servant paying 3rd class fare in the same carriage with them for their better protection, should be allowed by other Indian Railways as well.

(*h*)—*General.*

HITVARTA, Oct. 1st, 1908.

Bombay Governor's clemency.

5. The so called clemency of the Governor of Bombay in remitting the fine of Mr. Tilak and the commutation of his sentence of hard labour to one of simple imprisonment, says the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 1st October, has been especially injurious to Mr. Tilak's case, inasmuch as it has weakened his case for an appeal to the Privy Council.

BIHAR BANDHU, Oct. 3rd, 1908.

Bombay Governor's clemency.

6. Seeing the strictness of the Bombay Government in the beginning the *Bihar Bandhu* [Bankipur] of the 3rd October, does not consider the Government deserving of any thanks for this clemency.

DAILY HITAVADI, Oct. 9th, 1908.

The modification of Mr. Tilak's sentence.

7. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 9th October is exceedingly glad at the official *communique* to the *Pioneer* stating that the modification of Mr. Tilak's sentence is wholly due to Sir George Clarke and hopes that the good sense and calmness which His Excellency has already shown in the matter will impel him to release the Maratha leader altogether and thereby afford to the Indian people an exhibition of greatness and large-heartedness worthy of Royalty.

DAILY HITAVADI, Oct. 10th, 1908.

Frontier raids.

8. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 10th October in referring to the recent Frontier raid on the house of a rich Hindu at Sultanpur near Jelalabad, asks if these raids will never cease. Heedless of expeditions, bloodshed and subsequent conclusions of peace alike, these unruly tribes go on committing acts of lawlessness. The Amir is admittedly doing his share of punishing the dacoits, but unfortunately that is not not leading to the hoped-for results.

DAILY HITAVADI, Oct. 13th, 1908.

The forthcoming Commissioners' conference.

9. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 13th October hopes that the forthcoming conference of Commissioners at Darjeeling will take into its consideration the question of police searches. At present the flimsy evidence on which the police institute searches is making them ridiculous and infusing unrest and discontent into the public mind. They do whatever they like without being called to account. If searches are to be made at all, let them be conducted on the principle laid down by Sir John Hewett, i.e., only when strong grounds for suspicion are present. It is the unnecessary multiplication of the number of detectives which probably accounts for these reckless searches: these men evidently must do something to justify their existence.

10. They are perfectly ignorant of the present state of things, says the *Nrisinha* [Calcutta] of August-September, who declare that there will be no unrest no sooner the partition of Bengal is undone, for this discontent is not of recent date. The partition, of course, has intensified it. That it is of a long standing is proved from the writings of many an English gentleman. The journal here quotes the following from a speech of Mr. D. Smeaton delivered at Edinburgh in 1904:—

Why is there discontent?

Nrisinha, Aug. Sept. 1908.

"You will admit, I think that there must be something rotten in our Government of India, when seven-eighths of the population are so destitute that when a scarcity comes they instantly collapse for sheer want of money to buy food. They have not money enough to more than keep body and soul together in ordinary times; the small margin which would permit of a little saving is swallowed up by the taxes, which they have to pay in order to maintain an extravagantly costly Government. . . . . Sad to say, but it has to be said and it ought to be proclaimed from the house-tops—Great Britain is at the present time betraying the trust committed to her in India. She is crushing the people by taxation and stifling their protests."

The above extract, says ths paper, clearly shows how little the partition has to do with the present discontent.

Lord Morley, spoke as follows in one of his speeches in 1888:—

"I may also claim that I have from my earliest days—twenty years ago, when I was studying the character of the greatest Irish statesman, Edmund Burke—I have never lost my conviction that the greatest triumph that an Englishman could achieve would be to reconcile the people of England and the people of Ireland and for that reconciliation we must look in one direction, and in one direction only, and that is giving to Irishmen, restoring to Irishmen a fair and proper share in the management of the affairs of the country. What is the use, I ask you, of creating all the tiresome and baffling machinery of government by consent if you intended after all to practice government by defiance? If they practice government by defiance, they cannot be surprised if it is met by defiance. We Liberals prefer government by consent, and our wish and desire and the policy of the party to which we belong is to reform and adjust the machinery of the government, that we shall have the law and the public sentiment on one and the same side."

A perusal of the above extract, continues the paper, would make one suspect if Lord Morley, who is at present wielding the destinies of India, is the same person who spoke as above; but the fact that at present he has the reins of the Government of India in his hands, while at that time, he was a mere book-worm, would dispel all doubts about it. Well has the poet said, "Who is there in whom power has not produced pride?" It is in Lord Morley's time, who was once an advocate of Self-Government that we see that the Indian patriots are suffering imprisonments, people are sentenced to transportation for expressing an opinion, cases are transferred from Poona to Bombay (alluding to the trial of Mr. Tilak) and jurors who do not know how to read and write are empanelled to give their verdict on a writing in that language, the object being to deprive Mr. Tilak of his right of appeal. The Bombay authorities wasted public funds by engaging the services of Mr. Invararity to help the Advocate-General. Is the system of trial by jury in England the same as here? A perusal of the above extract would satisfy even the white official as to the falsity of the statement, that it is the native newspapers which spread discontent or sedition in the country. So long as a newspaper is not prosecuted for sedition no one considers its articles seditious. The undesirable policy of the official causes sedition to spread in the conntry. Of course the Indians are never advocates of sedition, but when they see the authorities punishing those whom the people consider innocent, they begin to lose their faith in those authorities. The chief cause of discontent of the Indians is their poverty. Had it not existed, there would be no unrest and no discontent. Here the journal quotes the following from Dadabhai Naoroji's "Poverty and un-British Rule in India":—"He who runs may see that if the present material and moral destruction of India continues, great convulsion must inevitably arise by which

either India will be more and more crushed under the iron heels of despotism and destruction or may succeed in shattering the destroying hand and power."

The extract, concludes the paper, would show how deep-seated the discontent is and that statesmanship lies in devising measures to remove it.

NRISINHA, Aug.-Sept. 1908.

The English character.

11. Referring to the attack on French Chandernagar by the English under Clive, the *Nrisinha* [Calcutta] of August-September, 1908, has the following :—

The English forgot for the time their obligations to the French for the help they received from them at Fulta and took measures to destroy them altogether. A due consideration of English character makes one thing clear, viz, that in order to gain their own ends the English say one thing and do quite another. The English demoralized the Nawab's servants by means of bribes, lies and greed, and gained their own object.

NRISINHA, Aug.-Sept. 1908.

The salient features of the Tilak trial.

12. According to *Nrisinha* [Calcutta] of August-September the following facts have become evident from the trial of Mr. Tilak :—

First, that the white papers can abuse the Indian leaders as much as they like, but the latter cannot utter a word in their own defence.

Secondly, that the universally respected Tilak is a strong man, for he told the jury that he wanted fair play and no favour.

Thirdly, that Mr. Tilak's prophecy that his suffering would result in good to India is being realized.

Lastly, that the Indian journals have unity is proved from the fact that one and all of them condemned the terrible sentence of Mr. Tilak. There are a few exceptions, but they are of little consequence. As for the white journals they, like the Doms who are pleased at the sight of a dead body, rejoice when they see the Indian leaders in trouble. The following lines of a poet apply to the case of these journals.

The ass puffed up by pride dares kick its master, but this does not last long for its turn to suffer the blows of its master comes soon after.

It is possible thnt some chiefs and Zemindars express their satisfaction, like the bears and monkeys of the bear-dancer, in order to please the authorities, but the punishment of Mr. Tilak has caused more pain to the loyal subjects than to those who are seditious.

BIHAR BANDHU, Oct. 3rd 1908.

Not a victory, but a defeat.

13. Referring to the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Aswin (October) the *Bihar Bandhu* [Bankipur] of the 3rd October says that although this day is known as a day of victory it may now be observed as a day of defeat for rejoicing has been replaced by sadness and liberty by subjection. A nation which is fastened to the chain of subjection can never be happy ; hence instead of happiness there is grief, and instead of pleasure there is pain. India had a day of victory, but it is now ancient history.

The day of victory is for those who are a free people. If the Indians had such a day, would Chidambaran Pillay be sentenced to transportation? Could Justice Davar dare address Mr. Tilak in the way he did? And would the learned and capable men of this country be sent to jail or the Andamans on a charge of sedition? Let the Indians meet together and bewail their present condition after comparing their past with the present condition.

BHARAT MITRA, Oct. 3rd, 1908.

An all-India national festival desirable.

14. The *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 3rd October advocates the inauguration of a national festival in the shape of the worship of the Mother-country open to all the races and creeds of India and says that the best season for it is the present one in which some sort of holiday is observed all over India.

BIHAR BANDHU, Oct.. 3rd 1908.

Classification of loyalty.

15. The *Bihar Bandhu* [Bankipur] of the 3rd October has classified loyalty as follows :—

1. Loyal, including the ministerial and menial servants of Government.

2. Blind (?) loyal, including Tahsildars, Judges, higher grade officials, Rajas and Maharajas, the Members of Councils who by fretting at the doings of Government dare not speak out the truth and therefore keep silent.

3. Lip-loyal, including such as make professions of loyalty—This class includes religious institutions like the Arya Samaj, the Bharat Dharma

Mahamandal, the Theosophical Society, the Anjuman-i-Islam, etc. These wait upon the Governor-General in deputations and profess their loyalty, telling him that *Swadeshi* has no force in the country, Congress is a mere plaything, although at the core of their hearts they admit the oppressions and call themselves helpless.

4. True ? loyal—These are made up of the Nationalists who pray for the permanence of the British rule, but being out-spoken are charged with sedition.

5. Disloyal,—including Anglo-Indian Journalists who are at the root of all evils.

6. Nominal (?) loyal,—These consist of the Moderates who consider boycott as unconstitutional and include an Hon'ble Member who is at present in England and who refused to join the demonstration in honor of Mr. Tilak. (Mr. Gokhale).

16. The *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 5th October invokes the goddess Durga to help the Indians in fighting against all the obstacles to the *swadeshi* vow and implores her to give them victory and to kill their enemies. HINDI BANGAVASI, Oct. 6th, 1908.

An invocation to the goddess Durga.

17. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 10th October publishes a manifesto over the signatures of certain prominent Bengalis like Babus Ananda Chandra Ray, Anath Bandhu Guha, Ambika Charan Mazumdar, Aswini Kumar Dutta, Bhupendra Nath Basu and Surendra Nath Banerji, asking their fellow-countrymen irrespective of religious differences to observe the 16th October next as the third anniversary of the Partition of Bengal, by *inter alia* abstaining from lighting fire in their ovens, by tying the *rakhi* on each other's wrists and by vowing to boycott things foreign. DAILY HITAVADI, Oct. 10th, 1908.

Observance of Partition Day.

18. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 14th October reminds its readers of the approach of the 30th Aswin, the auspicious day of India's awakening and the day which marked the birth of the *swadeshi* spirit, (taking it in its purely industrial sense) and after pointing out that Lord Curzon's intention of creating dis-union amongst Bengalis has not been fulfilled, concludes by urging all Bengalis irrespective of religious differences to observe it by fasting, taking the *swadeshi* vow and tying the *rakhi* thread to the utterance of a Sanskrit *mantra*, the sense of which is that this *rakhi* is tied by the sons of Mother Bengal in order to promote unity amongst themselves. DAILY HITAVADI, Oct. 14th, 1908.

Ibid.

19. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 13th October commends to the fovourable notice of the public the appeal recently issued by Major Lamb for funds towards the construction of a building at Kasauli to accomodate Indian patients of the respectable classes who may go for treatment to the local Pasteur Institute. DAILY HITAVADI, Oct. 13th, 1908.

An appeal.

RAJENDRA CHANDRA SASTRI,
Bengali Translator.

BENGALI TRANSLATOR'S OFFICE,
The 17th October, 1908.

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REPORT (PART II)

ON

NATIVE-OWNED ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS IN BENGAL

FOR THE

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I.—Foreign Politics.

1177. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* contrasts the peaceful victory of the young Turkey party in obtaining a constitution, with the horrors which have always attended a similar achievement in more civilized Christian countries. "In other words, while in these the people had to force the rulers to grant a constitution or obtain one for themselves by bloody revolutions and civil wars, by nihilist plots and anarchist excesses, in Turkey the ruler has of his own free will bestowed this high privilege on his people at almost the very threshold of their awakened aspirations."

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 12th Oct. 1908.

The European crisis.

The change has however turned the heads of neighbouring rulers. Bulgaria has, in spite of the treaty of Berlin, suddenly declared its independence and adopted violently aggressive measures, while Austria has without notice or consent of the other signatories to the treaty quietly appropriated the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Further complications are threatened by Servia and Russia, and in view of all the circumstances the pacific attitude, grave demeanour and admirable self-restraint of Turkey cannot but be admired.

II.—Home Administration.

(*a*)—*Police.*

1178. Referring to a recent order of the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, to the effect that on the 16th of October no members of any procession or assembly should carry *lathis* or any other offensive weapon, the *Bengalee* says:—

Bengalee, 9th Oct. 1908.

The Bureaucracy and the Federation Day.

"It is a pity that the bureaucracy should perpetually betray such a nervous anxiety to remind the people of their helpless position. They have been disarmed already—as completely as they could possibly be. It is worse than cruel that they should now be asked to go without even their walking sticks. The order of the Police Commissioner has not even the semblance of a justification. Not on a single occasion during the last three eventful years have the members of any assembly or procession made use of their *lathis* for unlawful purposes; not on a single occasion has the law been broken, except when the Police themselves broke it as they did at Barisal and some other places. Why should then the Police Commissioner have issued this extraordinary order? We hope, for the good name of the Government itself, that there is yet time for it to interfere and set things right. It would be a scandal if the order of the Police Commissioner were to remain in force even for a single day. *Lathis* or no *lathis*—our peaple who will celebrate the Federation Day will not break the law; being of the constitutional party, as the country generally is, they rely upon far other weapons than those of violence. But the resentment they must nevertheless feel will unquestionably be accentuated a hundredfold if under compulsion they have to give up using an article—far more of necessity than of luxury—and which at present is the only semblance of a defensive weapon wherewith they can protect themselves in case of the most ordinary need."

1179. The *Bengalee* considers that there is not the smallest justification for the Police Notification prohibiting the carrying of *lathis* at an assembly or procession on the 16th October, nor for the order restricting the hours of public demonstrations. Public peace has been maintained in past years without these restrictions, and the impression created by such orders is that the authorities are resolved to place every possible obstacle in the way of the Bengalis. Such action is calculated to add to the present excitement and will have the effect of rallying the moderates. The Indian community is determined to make the demonstration successful in spite of all difficulties.

Bengalee, 10th Oct. 1908.

A Police Notification.

1180. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* hopes that the question of house-searches will be taken up and discussed at the Divisional Commissioners Conference to be held in Darjeeling as the method under such searches these are now being made is causing intense unrest and distress among the Indian community. The journal submits that if a house has to be searched it should be done when there is reasonable suspicion

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 12th Oct. 1908.

House-searches.

for doing so, instead of acting upon information from any irresponsible party, and even an anonymous communication. It is unfortunate that the numrbe of detectives is getting far greater than is needed, and they must create wkor to justify their existence. The general impression is that very little is done to put a wholesome check upon their work, and that it is this laxity which is at the root of much of the evil.

(*b*)—*Working of the Courts.*

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 1st Oct, 1908.

The Bombay High Court contempt case.

1181. As almost everything relating to India is bigger than elsewhere, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is not surprised that in matters of punishment for criminal offences, real or fancied, India should also beat other countries. Here it is not impossible for innocent men to rise in the morning to find their houses surrounded and searched by the police, they themselves being pounced upon and locked up in felons' cells, without knowing anything of the nature of the offence or offences preferred against them. Here people may be deported for committing no crime at all. Here public men may be transported for life or sentenced to long terms of rigorous imprisonment for merely speaking or writing some penalised words. So, almost everything is on a grand scale here. No one, therefore, need be surprised at the sentence passed on Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Editor of the "Mahratta," for committing what is called "contempt of court,"—an offence which, as a rule, is punished with a mere fine in England. Indeed, this sentence is only a flea-bite when compared to what some Indians have suffered in the discharge of what they considered to be public duty.

The journal also questions whether their Lordships were competent to try Mr. Kelkar, as they had to play the role of both complainant and prosecutor in the contempt case.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 2nd Oct. 1908.

Few more words on the contempt case.

1182. If the Bombay High Court Judges had to deal severely with what they considered a serious misconduct on the part of an Indian journalist, they should in fairness to the Indian section of the Press, writes the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, have said how others could avoid the fate of Mr. Kelkar. Indian papers owe it to their constituents to criticise the proceedings of Judicial Courts, and if in doing so they unknowingly commit what is considered to be contempt of court, it is hoped that the Hon'ble Judges will see that the imprisonment takes place on the Civil and not the Criminal side. Nothing however would have been lost if no proceedings had been instituted against Mr. Kelkar who, the *Patrika* considers, simply gave Mr. Justice Davar tit for tat, while emphasising the fact that he had no quarrel with the Judge.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 10th Oct. 1908.

Bombay contempt case and the Indian Press.

1183. While admitting that the Editor of the "Mahratta" had no justification for the improper language he used or for making any suggestions affecting the honesty of the learned Judge who sentenced Tilak, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* considers that the latter need not have been unnecessarily humiliated, but should have been tried by a common jury. The lot of the Indian journalist is quite unenviable enough with such serious menaces as sections 124A, 153A, 499 and 505 of the Indian Penal Code, and he is not looked upon with favour by the governing authorities for his outspoken criticism, but the Bombay contempt case will create a new danger to the liberty of the Press. It is the duty of all journalists to see that the High Court does not in the least disregard the just rights and privileges of all sections of the community, and in putting a stop to criticisms of the acts of Judges when they fail to administer justice properly, the Government removes the only check on their Lordships to prevent their deviating from the right path.

Section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code is another menace, for it permits a Magistrate to prosecute anybody for sedition, order him to furnish security for good behaviour, and then imprison him if he fails to execute the bond with whatever sureties may be demanded of him. Indeed, the Magistrate may order the offender to find sureties in any exorbitant sum, and then imprison him rigorously for one year on his failure to do so! A

case in point is that of Appa Shaheb Ram Chunder of the Bombay Presidency. He was arrested on 21st July on a charge of training people in the manufacture of bombs, and security was demanded for his good behaviour. He failed to find it and has been sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment. Section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code is thus a very effective weapon in the hands of executive officers to gag both publicists and public speakers.

1184. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is at a loss to understand how Mr. Justice Coxe, an Englishman, could see his way to disagree with Mr. Justice Mitter in the matter of granting bail to the majority of the accused in the Midnapore bomb conspiracy case, when the latter based his judgment wholly upon principles laid down by the highest Judicial authorities in England. It is also an enigma how Mr. Justice Coxe could inculcate doctrines opposed to common-sense and to the first principles of British jurisprudence, since punishment before trial is regarded as a most unjust and outrageous arrangement. The seventeen accused were not incriminated by any satisfactory evidence, and it due to their good luck that Mr. Justice Mitter came to preside over the Vacation Bench.

Bail granted at last.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 3rd Oct. 1908.

1185. Reverting to Mr. Justice Coxe's judgment in the matter of the bail applications of the accused in the Midnapore case, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* fails to understand why his Lordship could not agree with the judgment of his colleague Mr. Justice Mitter, when the latter not only gave a rational explanation of the law on the bail question, but also gave effect to the assurances which Mr. Justice Coxe had himself been pleased to give to the accused on the previous occasion. The journal is surprised at Mr. Justice Coxe's action, and considers that he should have given his reasons for going against his senior colleague, instead of merely claiming to be in the right. It contends that the latter could not but arrive at the decision he did, for "a Court is only justified in holding that there are reasonable grounds for believing an accused guilty and refusing him bail when evidence of a tangible character is adduced, that is to say, evidence of such a character as may justify a Court in convicting the accused, if unrebutted." Mr. Justice Coxe could not seriously take exception to any of Mr. Justice Mitter's statements, and it is not clear what good purpose he expected to serve by running counter to his learned senior's views. The latter simply acted according to law, and "his judgment will go a long way to restore that confidence in the High Court which the public have in some measure lost. Government, if it has not lost its equilibrium, will no doubt appreciate the service which Mr. Justice Mitter has done by his remarkable judgment at a crisis like this."

Bail judgments of Justices Mittra and Coxe.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 13th Oct. 1908.

1186. The news that Mr. Donald Weston, Magistrate of Midnapore, contemplates going almost immediately on leave is welcomed by the *Amitra Bazar Patrika*, as his presence at the head of the administration at Midnapore at a time when the judicial enquiry is proceeding is considered by no means desirable, since he is the most interested party in the trial. The journal also urges His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to transfer the case from Midnapore which is only an assessor district, as no one is more interested than the Government itself in giving a fair trial to the accused. To secure this, the trial should be held in a jury district by an experienced Judge, the more so as intricate points of law may arise in course of the proceedings.

The Midnapore case.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 13th Oct. 1908.

(c)—*Jails.*

1187. The *Bengalee* is shocked to read the account published by a contemporary regarding the treatment of the prisoners in the Midnapore conspiracy case and invites Sir Andrew Fraser to express his strong disapproval of such treatment of undertrial prisoners. The latter are men of the highest respectability and entitled to the sympathy and commisseration of all right-thinking men. Humanity and even ordinary considerations of courtesy preclude their being made the subjects of jest, and while one is called "fat boy" by the Jail Superintendent, another, who is ill and suffers from heart palpitation, was handcuffed and tied with a rope and made to walk from Howrah to Alipore, relief being obtained through the charity of compassionate bye-standers.

The Midnapore prisoners.

BENGALEE, 13th Oct. 1908.

(*d*)—*Education.*

BANDE MATARAM, 11th Oct. 1908.

Students and politics.

1188. Referring to the remedies prescribed in the Bombay Government's Resolution for preventing students from participating in political demonstrations, the *Bengalee* states that either it was not necessary to prescribe them or they will never prove efficacious. As far as there is anything in them, no school master worth the name could possibly have neglected them so long, so as to need the Government's reminder. For the rest, they are far too artificial and will never come into operation. There is a limit to compulsory inculcation of good manners. "We take manners from each other somewhat as we breathe from the atmosphere. The process is for the most part spontaneous and the teacher can only help it. As a matter of fact, Indian students are in most cases far from being in need of a compulsory inculcation of manners. They are born gentlemen and courtesy, politeness and kindred virtues are born with them."

The reason why young Indians take so ardently to politics is that being full of generous enthusiasm and of the spirit of freedom and justice, they naturally array themselves against forces which too obviously make for the perpetuation of their country's degradation. Their sympathies are spontaneously arrayed in opposition to the forces of autocracy and in favour of the movement for self-government. This is not politics in the conventional sense of the term, but self-expansion, and the attitude of the students is just as inevitable as that of the general community, if not indeed more so. Not to understand this is to prove oneself utterly unfitted for taking a correct measure of the situation.

BENGALEE, 8th Oct. 1908.

Students and politics.

1189. *Bande Mataram* offers the following opinion as the reason why the bureaucracy has become so uneasy over the deterioration of the quality of education imparted by its schools and colleges :—

"Education was all right when it produced a number of docile and humble clerks or professional men with an abundance of the sovereign virtue of contentment, with an excess of reverence for the whiteman, with the ineradicable idea that to live under the British rule is the most grand and magnificent thing. Education was all right in the country when it shut out from the view the Mother country with all its past glory and greatness and smothered the patriotic impulses. Education was all right when it left out of the programme the development of all manly qualities and generated in our young men parasitical tendencies in the name of teaching habits of obedience and mutual respect. Education was all right when it gave to our young men a lean and hungry appearance, down-cast look, socket-sunk eyes, stunted growth, protruded jaws and other physical requisites of a good and humble citizen and member of society. Education was all right when it did not foster any active habit of thought, when it did not teach the use of the mind, when it did not seek any contact with life, when it fashioned the mind in a particular way and for a particular object, when it did not fill the youth with inconvenient ambition and aspiration, and developed in them a very healthy commonsense, namely the sense of limitation. But all these desired effects are no longer produced by education. Hence the bureaucracy set itself to a study of the question and is giving us the benefit of its laborious research in the shape of circulars and resolutions."

(*h*)—*General.*

BENGALEE, 8th Oct. 1908.

The Proclamation Day.

1190. The *Bengalee* regrets the decision that there will be no official celebration on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Proclamation of 1858. The occasion afforded an opportunity of which statesmanship should have availed itself to soothe and to allay the prevailing excitement. If the Government on the first of November had proclaimed a general amnesty to all political prisoners, and if this were followed by real reforms or the announcement of such reforms, a great forward step would have been taken towards the consummation of that policy of conciliation which is the most urgent need of the hour. But Lord Morley has not the courage to take such a step, and a golden opportunity is thus lost which might have been utilised with splendid results.

1191. Mr. Carey's treatment of a party of students of the Presidency College, who lately visited Chaibassa to study geology, ought to convince the Government, says he *Bengalee*, that he is totally unfit for any administrative charge whatever. He made himself famous at Berhampore and Serampore, but has evidently neither learnt what he did not know then or unlearnt any of those curious administrative ideas, and still more curious traits of character which he then exhibited.

Geology and Mr. Carey.

BENGALEE, 10th Oct. 1908.

Mr. James, Principal of the Presidency College, owes it to himself, to the College and to the Professor to teach a lesson to this blundering official, which he may have reason to remember; while the Government owes it to itself to take suitable notice of the conduct of an officer who has succeeded in making himself highly unpopular wherever he has been sent, and whose last act has created profound indignation among the entire student community in Bengal and is possibly regarded in the light of an affront by the whole Educational Department. The least that the Government can do is to compel Mr. Carey to make a suitable apology to the Professor and the students and to bear the expenses of a fresh journey to Chaibassa to be undertaken by the party. This step, followed by a notification in the Gazette relieving Mr. Carey of his present charge and removing him to a sphere where he would be less obviously out of place and would not at any rate be capable of doing further mischief, would alone satisfy the outraged public opinion of the Province.

1192. The *Bengalee* recounts the facts connected with the visit of the Indian students to Chaibassa and trusts that Sir Andrew Fraser will take adequate notice of Mr. Carey's extraordinary proceedings. "They reveal the abnormal condition of mind which some of our officials have worked themselves into. They seem to have a sort of idea that every young Bengali is an anarchist, real or potential, and they make themselves ridiculous in the eyes of their victims and of those over whom they exercise authority. Such officers are a real danger to the administration, for they divest it of that respect so essential to the maintenance of authority."

Mr. Carey again to the front.

BENGALEE, 11th Oct. 1908.

III.—LEGISLATION.

1193. The *Bengalee* does not intend to rejoice in anticipation or offer any opinion with regard to the projected Council (!) reforms, as it has so frequently been disappointed and found that the fairest promises have so often been broken. It, however, insists that these reforms must provide for definite concessions which will give the popular representatives an effective voice over the finances of the country and the executive administration.

The Council reform scheme.

BENGALEE, 13th Oct. 1908.

Disregard of Indian public opinion must come to an end and the people are resolved to be some bodies in their own land.

"The cry for Self-Government is a cry for the paramountcy of Indian public opinion in the counsels of our rulers; and it affects the present as well as the past measures of the Government. The constitution of the Calcutta Corporation must be changed; the partition of Bengal must be modified; and the reign of law must supersede the reign of executive discretion, tempered by Police repression.

VI.—MISCELLANEOUS.

1194. *Bande Mataram* is disappointed with the Congress which is going to be held at Madras, as it will not be a representative assembly of the whole nation, but a conclave of persons who are guided by their own conventional notions about things. An assembly which deliberates on the affairs of a nation must have a mind and imagination. It must know, reason, discuss, inspire, rouse enthusiasm and demand sacrifice and service instead of elbowing out dreamers and idealists, for it is through dreams and wild ideas that men and society are made better. The Conventionalists desire to play at politics and fear to associate with those who believe in themselves and want to go a step further than expressing a pious wish for the good of the country. They will hold a National Congress after devising some means to leave out such men as Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Chidambaram Pilai, Arabindo Ghose or Bepin Chandra Pal. They are also alienating themselves from the younger generation of the country by ignoring thier enthusiasms and making no room for them in the scheme of national regeneration. Their one idea is to beg, to present our

The Conventional Congress.

BANDE MATARAM, 9th Oct. 1908.

people as an object of pity and commiseration and keep on crying about their grievances, though they have a bitter experience of how a beggar is answered. They will have nothing to do with those who really wish for a better and fuller life and are willing to put forth energy for its attainment.

The journal has fruitlessly tried for reconciliation between members of the old and new schools, and states that the country has now placed itself unreservedly in the hands of God.

BENGALEE, 10th Oct. 1908.

The danger of extravagance.

1195. Commenting on the extravagance displayed by Germany and Japan in the matter of military expenditure, the *Bengalee* notices that the Government of India has been showing the same spirit for some years past. It considers the charges necessary to maintain peace and order coupled with the Home charges to be a heavy and perpetual drain on the Indian exchequer, entirely out of all proportion to the needs of the country, and urges an equitable adjustment of the military charges between England and India so as to relieve the latter of a substantial portion of the existing burden, and by the more extensive employment of natives of India.

BANDE MATARAM, 10th Oct. 1908.

The Rakhi day.

1196. "Rakhi day," writes *Banda Mataram*, "is the anniversary of a day when it was brought home to us by a defiant act of the bureaucracy that we are nobodies in our own country, that England regards us as a people at a very low ebb of civilization, and has given a *carte blanche* to her agents to treat us as they choose, that our voice so far as the doings of the ruling class are concerned is a voice in the wilderness. Such a day of our reawakening to our real position in the country deserves to be commemorated. For, unless our error is discovered, unless our illusion melts away, unlesst he *maya* is dissolved, we cannot know where we are, how we stand, whither should we move or what shall we do.

"The partition, carried out in spite of persistent popular opposition, proved that the rulers cared very little for the will of the people, which is now the chief determining factor in the politics of all civilized countries. This is due to the fact that we are not all moved by one common and mighty impulse of patriotism. We do not yet feel that we owe our first duty to our Mother country, that we of the same country must be of one mind, of one heart, of one will. The want of a national sentiment has been our undoing. This is the land of our fathers. In its dust has dissolved their bones. It yields us crops to build up our body. It has therefore a sanctity to us which it cannot have to any other nationality. We should therefore enter into a hearty union with our fellow-countrymen to keep its affairs in our own hands, to keep uninterrupted its flow of civilization, to save it from humiliation of every kind, to maintain its memory untarnished, to make its name honoured throughout the world, to render it a centre of universal illumination. All these things we can again achieve if we unite heart to heart and set ourselves to the political regeneration of the country."

INDIAN MIRROR, 11th Oct. 1908.

A scheme for the administrative training of Englishmen and Indians.

1197. Commenting on an article on the "Indian Question" contributed to the *Indian Review* of Madras by Mr. Whish, a retired Civil Servant, the *Indian Mirror* agrees entirely with Mr. Whish on all points, and advises moderation on both sides. It appeals to the British Government to be more sympathetic, and advises the Indian people to be more rational. The English rulers of India, it urges, must recognise that a radical change in the system of administration is necessary; this need not be brought about otherwise than gradually, but it must be a total and radical change. "Our aim," it continues, "should therefore be to obtain a system that will give us all the opportunities and facilities for administrative training. That training should begin with the Panchayat system, and thus will these energies for the popular cause be certainly more sincere, more real and fraught with greater potentialities than suffering so-called martyrdoms for the sake of cheap renown and popular applause."

OFFICE OF THE INSPR.-GENL. OF POLICE, L. P., WRITERS' BUILDINGS, *The 17th October 1908.*

G. C. DENHAM,
Spl. Asst. to the Depy. Inspr.-Genl. of Police, Crime and Railways, Bengal.

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